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A REMONSTRANCE OF THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM.

Die Mercuii, 15. Decem. 1641.

It is this day resolved upon the question, by the House of COMMONS;

That Order shall be now given for the printing of this *Remonstrance* of the *State* of the KINGDOM.

H. Elsing Cler. Parl. D. Com.

LONDON,
Printed in the yeere, 1641.

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JUNE 1, 1916

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A REMONSTRANCE OF THE STATE OF THE KINGDOME.

THe Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having with much earneſtneſſe and faithfulneſſe of affection, and zeale to the publike good of this Kingdome, and his Majeſties Honour and ſervice, for the ſpace of twelve Months, wraſtled with the great dangers and feares, the preſſing Miſeries and Calamities, the various Diſtempers and Diſorders, which had not onely aſſaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguiſht the libertie, peace, and proſperitie of this Kingdome, the comfort, and hopes of all his Majeſties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakned, and undermined the foundation, and ſtrength of his own Royall Throne; doe yet finde an abounding malignity and oppoſition in thoſe parties and factions, who have been the cauſe of thoſe Evills, and doe ſtill labour to caſt aſperſions upon that which hath beene done, and to raiſe many difficulties, for the hinderance of that which remaines yet undone, and to foment jealouſies betwixt the King and the Parliament; that ſo they may

deserve Him and his People of the fruit of his owne gracious intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the publike peace, safety, and happinesse of this Realme. For the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavours may produce, Wee have thought good to declare,

1 *The roote and growth of those mischievous designes.*

2 *The maturity and ripenesse to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*

3 *The effectuall meanes which have beene used for the extirpation of those dangerous Evils, and the progresse which hath therein beene made by his Majesties goodnesse, and the wisedome of the Parliament.*

4 *The wayes of obstruction and opposition, by which that Progresse hath beene interrupted.*

5 *The courses to bee taken for the removing those obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutifull, and faithfull intentions, and endeavours of restoring, and establishing the ancient Honour, Greatnesse, and Security of this Crowne, and Nation. The roote of all this mischiefe wee finde to be a malignant and pernitious designe of subverting the fundamentall Lawes and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion, and Iustice of this Kingdome are firmly establish'd. The Actors and Promoters hereof have beene,*

1 *The Iesuited Papists, who hate the Lawes, as the obstacles of that change, and subversion of Religion, which they so much long for.*

2 *The Bishops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherrish formality and superstition, as the naturall effects, and more probable supports of their owne Ecclesiasticall Tyranny and Vsurpation.*

3 *Such Councellors and Courtiers, as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interest of some*

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forraine Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty, and the State at home.

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The common Principles, by which they moulded and governed all their particular Councels and actions, were these:

First, To maintaine continuall differences and discontents betwixt the King and the People, upon Questions of Prerogative and Liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him; and under the Notions of Men addicted to his Service, gaine to themselves and their parties, the places of greatest Trust and power in the Kingdome.

A Second, To suppresse the purity and power of Religion, and such persons as were best affected to it, as being contrary to their owne ends, and the greatest impediment to that Change, which they thought to introduce.

A Third, To conjoyne those parties of the Kingdome, which were most propitious to their owne ends, and to divide those who were most oppoſite, which consisted in many particular observations: To cherrish the *Arminian* part in those points wherein they agree with the Papists; To multiply and enlarge the differences betwixt the common Protestants, and those whom they call Puritans; To introduce and countenance such Opinions, and Ceremonies, as are fittest for accommodation with Poperie; To encrease and maintaine ignorance, looſeneſſe, and prophaneneſſe in the people; That of those three parties, Papists, Arminians, and Libertines, they might compoſe a Body fit to act such Councells and resolutions, as were most conducible to their owne ends.

A Fourth, To disaffect the King to Parliaments, by slanders, and false imputations; and by putting him

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upon other wayes of supply, which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage than the ordinary course of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more losse than gaine, both to the King and People, and have caused the great distractions under which wee both suffer.

As in all compounded bodies, the operations are qualified according to the predominant Element; So in this mixt party, the Jesuited Councels being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and if they bee not prevented, are likely to devoure the rest, or to turne them into their owne Nature.

In the beginning of his Majesties reigne, the party begun to revive and flourish againe, having been somewhat dampt by the breach with Spaine, in the last yeere of King James, and by his Majesties marriage with France, the Interests and Councells of that State being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity of this Kingdome, as those of Spaine; and the Papists of England having beene ever more addicted to Spaine than France; yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home. The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength, was the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had beene given two Subsidies to his Majesty, and before they received relieſe in any one grievance: Many other more miserable effects followed. The losse of the Rochell Fleet, by the help of our shipping set forth and delivered over to the French, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left that Towne without defence by Sea, and made way not only to the losse of that important

place,

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place, but likewiſe to the loſſe of all the ſtrength, and ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion in France. The diverting of his Majeſties courſe of Warres, from the Weſt Indies, which was the moſt facile and hopefull way for this Kingdome to prevaile againſt the Spaniard, to an expenſefull and ſucceſſeleſſe attempt upon Cales, which was ſo ordered, as if it had rather beene intended to make us weary of Warre, than to proſper in it. The precipitate breach with France, by taking their ſhips to a great value, without making recompenſe to the Engliſh, whoſe goods were thereupon imbar'd and confiſcate in that Kingdome. The peace with Spaine, without conſent of Parliament, contrary to the promiſe of King James to both Houſes; whereby the Palatine cauſe was deſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſſe Treaties; which for the moſt part were managed by thoſe who might juſtly be ſuſpected to bee no friends to that Cauſe. The charging of the Kingdome with Billetted Souldiers, in all parts of it; and that concomitant deſigne of Germane Horſe, that the Land might either ſubmit with feare, or bee enforced with rigour to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions as ſhould be required of them. The diſſolving of the Parliament in the ſecond yeare of his Majeſties reigne, after a Declaration of their intent to grant five Subſidies.

The exacting of the like proportion of five Subſidies, after the Parliament diſſolved by Commiſſion of Loane, and divers Gentlemen and others impriſoned, for not yeelding to pay that Loane, whereby many of them contracted ſuch ſickneſſes as coſt them their lives: great ſummes of money required and raiſed by Privie Seales: An unjuſt and pernitious attempt to extort great payments from the Subject by way of Exciſe, and a Commiſſion iſſued under ſeale to that

purpoſe.

purpose. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegall Declaration, to make it destructive to it selfe, to the power of Parliament, to the liberty of the Subject, and to that purpose printed with it: And the Petition made of no use, but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst break the Lawes, and suppresse the liberties of the Kingdome, after they had beene so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, *Quarto Caroli*, the Priviledge of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close Prisoners for many Monthes together, without the liberty of using Books, penne, Inke, or Paper; denying them all the comforts of life, all meanes of preservation of health, not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in time of their sicknesse; and for the compleating of that cruelrie, after yeers spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary meanes of spirituall consolation, not suffering them to goe abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances, in Gods House, for Gods Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private Chambers, and to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to bee bailed according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferiour Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those Fines from them, enforcing others to put in securitie of good behaviour before they could be released.

The imprisonment of the rest, which refused to bee bound, still continued; which might have been perpetuall, if necessity had not, the last yeer, brought an other Parliament to relieve them, of whom one dyed,

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by the crueltie and harſhneſſe of his impriſonment, which would admit of no relaxation; notwithſtanding the imminent danger of his life, did ſufficiently appeare by the Declaration of his Phyſitian: And his releaſe, or at leaſt, his refreſhment, was ſought by many humble Petitions. And this blood ſtill cries either for vengeance, or repentance of thoſe Miniſters of State, who at once obſtructed the courſe both of his Majeſties juſtice and mercy.

Upon the diſſolutions of both theſe Parliaments, untrue and ſcandalous Declarations publiſhed, to aſperſe their proceedings, and ſome of their Members, unjuſtly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was uſed againſt them. Proclamations ſet out to the ſame purpoſe, and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them even to ſpeak of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth yeere of his Majeſtie, injuſtice, oppreſſion, and violence, broke in upon us without any reſtraint or moderation; and yet the firſt project was, the great ſums exacted through the whole Kingdome for default of Knight-hood, which ſeemed to have ſome colour and ſhadow of a Law; yet if it be rightly examined by that obſolete Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be againſt all the rules of Juſtice, both in reſpect of the perſons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the abſurd and unreaſonable manner of their proceedings.

Tonnage and Poundage hath been received without colour or pretence of Law. Many other heavie Impoſitions continued againſt Law; and ſome ſo unreaſonable, that the ſumme of the charge exceeds the value of the goods. The Book of Rates lately inhanced to a high proportion; and ſuch Merchants as would not ſubmit to their illegall and unreaſonable payments, were vexed and oppreſſed above meaſure; and the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obſtructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea; yet a new and unheard of Tax of Ship-money was deviſed, upon the ſame pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the Subject neer 700000 l.

ſome yeers; and yet the Merchants have been left ſo naked to the violence of the Turkiſh Pyrats, that many great Ships of value, and thouſands of his Majeſties Subjects have been taken by them, and doe ſtill remain in miſerable ſlavery.

The enlargement of Foreſts, contrary to *Charta de Foreſta*, and the compoſition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct money, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Arms of the Trayned Bands of divers Countries. The deſperate deſigne of engroſſing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and ſetting ſo high a Rate upon it, that the poorer ſort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licenſe; thereby to leave the ſeverall parts of the Kingdome deſtitute of their neceſſary defenſe; and by ſelling ſo deare that which was ſold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the Subject, the generall deſtruction of the Kings Timber, eſpecially that in the Foreſt of *Dean*, ſold to Papiſts, which was the beſt Store-houſe of this Kingdome, for the maintenance of our Shipping. The taking away of mens right, under colour of the Kings title to Land between high and low water-Marks. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-cole, and, in a manner, of all things of moſt common and neceſſary uſe. The reſtraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their habitation, Trades, and other Intereſts. Their vexation and oppreſſion by Purveyours, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peeter-men. The ſale of pretended Nuzances, as Buildings in and about *London*, converſion of Arable into Paſture; continuance of Paſture, under the name of depopulation, have drawn many Millions out of the ſubjects Purſes, without any conſiderable profit to his Majeſty. Large quantities of Common, and ſeverall Grounds, have been taken from the Subject; by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuſe of the Commiſſion of Sewers, without their conſent, and againſt it. And not only private Intereſt, but alſo publike faith have been broken, in ſeizing of the money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdome like to be robb'd at once, in that abominable proje&t of Braſſe-Money. Great numbers

bers of his Majesties Subjects, for refusing those unlawfull charges, have been vext with long and expensive suits; some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments, and confinements, to the losse of health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized; some have been restrained from their lawfull Callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages; surprized at Sea in an Hostile manner, by Projectors, as by a common Enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their Goods in such Ports, as were for their own advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors.

The Court of Star-Chamber hath abounded in extravagant Censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull Taxes; but for divers other Causes, where there hath been no offence; or very small; whereby His Majesties Subjects have been oppressed by grievous Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived Men of the Society of their Friends, exercise of their Professions, comfort of Books, use of Paper or Inke, but even violated that neer Union which God hath establisht betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and constrained separation; whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another, for many yeeres together, without hope of relief; if God had not by his overruling Providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power and counsell of those, who were the Authors and Promoters of such peremptory and headdy courses.

Judges have been put out of their Places, for refusing to doe against their Oathes, and Consciences: Others have been so awed, that they durst not doe their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them, the Clause *quam diu se bene gesserit* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clause *Durante bene placito* inserted. Lawyers have been checkt, for being faithfull to their Clients; Sollicitors, and Atturneyes have been threatned, and some pu-

niſhed for following lawfull Suits: And by this meanes, all the approaches to Juſtice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have beene forced upon the Subject againſt Law; New Judicatories erected without Law: The Councell Table have, by their Orders, offered to binde the Subjects in their Free-holds, Eſtates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earle Marſhal was Arbitrary and Illegall in its being, and proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other *Engliſh* Courts, have been grievous in exceeding their Juriſdiction. The eſtate of many Families weakned, and ſome ruined by exceſſive Fines, exacted from them for Compoſitions of Wardſhips. All Leaſes of above a hundred yeares, made to draw on Wardſhip, contrary to Law. Undue proceedings uſed in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury finde for the King. The Common-law Courts, ſeeing all men more inclined to ſeek juſtice there, where it may be fitted to their owne deſire, are known frequently to forſake the Rules of the Common-Law, and ſtraining beyond their bounds, under preterence of equity, to doe Injuſtice. Titles of Honour, Judiciall places, Serjeantſhips at Law, and other Offices, have beene ſold for great ſummes of money; whereby the common Juſtice of the Kingdome hath beene much endangered, not only by opening a way of employment in places of great Truſt and advantage to Men of weak parts; but alſo by giving occaſion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality; It ſeldome hapning that places ill gotten are well uſed. Commiſſions have beene granted for examining the exceſſe of Fees; and when great exactions have beene diſcovered, Compoſitions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time paſt, but likewiſe for immunity and ſecurity in offending for the time to come; which under colour of remedy, hath but confirmed and encreaſed the Grievance to the Subject.

The uſuall courſe of pricking Sheriffs not obſerved, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way; ſometimes as a puniſhment and charge unto them; ſometimes ſuch were pricked out, as would be Inſtruments to execute whatſoever they would have to be done.

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The Biſhops and the reſt of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painfull, learned, and pious Miniſters; in the vexation, and grievous oppreſſion of great numbers of His Majeſties good Subjects. The High-Commiſſion grew to ſuch exceſſe of ſharpneſſe and ſeverity, as was not much leſſe than the Romiſh Inquiſition; and yet in many caſes by the Archbiſhops power, was made much more heavy, being aſſiſted, and ſtrengthened by authority of the Councell-Table.

The Biſhops and their Courts, were as eager in the Countrey; and although their Juriſdiction could not reach ſo high in rigour, and extremity of puniſhment, yet were they no leſſe grievous, in reſpect of the generality, and multiplicity of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner ſort of Tradeſmen and Artificers, did impoveriſh many thouſands, and ſo afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their miſeries, departed out of the Kingdome, ſome into *New-England*, and other parts of *America*, others into *Holland*, where they have tranſported their Manufactures of Cloath, which is not only a loſſe by diminiſhing the preſent ſtock of the Kingdom, but a great miſchiefe, by empairing and endangering the loſſe of that peculiar Trade of Cloathing, which hath been a plentifull Fountaine of wealth and honour to this Nation.

Thoſe were fitteſt for Eccleſiaſticall preferment, and ſooneſt obtained it, who were moſt officious in promoting Superſtition, moſt virulent in railing againſt godlineſſe and honeſty.

The moſt publike and ſolemne Sermons before his Majeſty were, either to advance Prerogative above Law, and decry the property of the Subject, or full of ſuch kinde of invectives; whereby they might make thoſe odious, who ſought to maintain the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome; and ſuch Men were ſure to bee weeded out of the Commiſſion of the Peace, and out of all other employments of Power in the Government of the Countrey.

Many noble Perſonages were Councellors in name; but the power and authority remained in a few of ſuch, as were moſt ad-

dicted to this party; whose resolutions, and determinations were brought to the Table, for countenance and execution, and not for debate and deliberation; and no Man could offer to oppose them without disgrace and hazard to himselfe: Nay, all those that did not wholly concurre, and actively contribute to the furtherance of their designes, though otherwise persons of never so great Honour and Abilities, were so farre from being employed in any place of Trust, and Power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed.

This Faction was growne to that heigth, and entireness of power, that now they began to thinke of finishing their Work, which consisted of these three parts.

1 *The Government must bee set free from all restraint of Lawes concerning our Persons and States.*

2 *There must bee a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants, in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet bee called Popery.*

3 *The Puritans, under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and to maintaine Religion in the power of it; must bee either rooted out of the Kingdome with force, or driven out with feare. For the effecting of this, It was thought necessary to reduce* Scotland *to such Popish Superstitions and Innovations, as might make them apt to joyne with* England, *in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgy were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Army was raised to force them to it; towards which, the Clergy and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise raised an Army for their defense; and when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majesties owne Gratious disposition, and the Councell of the English Nobility, and Dutifull submission of the Scots, did so far prevaile against the evill counsell of others, that a Pacification was made,*

and His Majesty returned with Peace, and much Honour to London.

The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdome, except to the malignant party; whereof the Archbishop and the Earle of Strafford being heads, they and their faction begun to enveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which so incensed His Majesty, that hee forthwith prepared again for Warre. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdome, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only meanes to restore all to a right frame and temper againe: To which end they perswaded His Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seek counsell and advice of them, but to draw countenance and supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdome in their Quarrell: and in the meane time continued all their unjust Levies of money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischiefe by a Law, or else to break it; and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could not obtain by consent. The ground alledged for the justification of this Warre was this.

That the undutifull Demands of the Parliaments of *Scotland*, was a sufficient reason for His Majesty to take Armes against them, without hearing the Reason of those Demands: And thereupon a new Armie was prepared against them, their Ships were seised in all Ports, both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea. Their Petitions rejected; Their Commissioners refused Audience. This whole Kingdome most miserably distempered with Levies of Men and Money, and Imprisonments of those who denied to submit to those Levies. The Earle of *Strafford*, past into *Ireland*, caused the *Parliament* there to declare against the *Scots*; to give foure Subsidies towards that Warre; and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes, for the prosecution of it; and gave directions for an Armie of eight thousand foot, and one Thousaud horse to bee levied there, which were for the most part Papists.

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The Parliament met upon the thirteenth of *April*, one thousand six hundred and fourtie. The Earle of *Strafford* and Archbishop of *Canterbury* with their Partie so prevailed with His Majestie, that the *House of Commons* was prest to yeeld to a Supply for maintenance of the Warre with *Scotland*; before they had provided any reliefe for the great & pressing Grievances of the people: which being against the fundamentall Priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to his Majesty, so farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into consideration, and two severall dayes it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded, for the release of Ship-money alone: A third day was appointed for Conclusion, when the Heads of that Partie, begun to fear the people might close with the King in satisfying his desire of Money: But that withall they were like to blast their malicious designes against *Scotland*, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that Warre.

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the wayes of Confusion, in which their owne evill intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended the fifth of *May*, one thousand six hundred and fourty, this Partie grew so bold, as to counsell the King to supply Himselfe out of his Subjects states by his own power, at his own will, without their consent. The very next day some *Members of both Houses* had their Studies and Cabinets, yea, their Pockets searched: Another of them not long after was committed close prisoner for not delivering some Petitions which he received by authoritie of that House; and if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the sickneſse of the Earle of *Strafford*, and the Tumultuous rising in Southwark, and about Lambeth, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the *House of Commons* was published in his Majesties Name, which yet wrought little

effect

effect with the people, but onely to manifeſt the impudence of thoſe who were Authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attemped in the Citie of *London*.

The Lord Maior and Aldermen in their ſeverall Wards, enjoyned to bring in a liſt of the Names of ſuch perſons as they judged fit to lend, and of the ſumme they ſhould lend. And ſuch Aldermen as refuſed ſo to doe, were committed to priſon.

The *Arch-Biſhop* and the other *Biſhops* and *Clergie* continued the *Convocation*, and by a new Commiſſion turned it to a *Provinciall Synod*, in which by an unheard-of preſumption, they made *Canons* that contain in them many matters contrarie to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realm, to the right of Parliaments, to the Propertie and Libertie of the Subject, and matters tending to ſedition and of dangerous conſequence; thereby eſtabliſhing their own Uſurpations, juſtifying their Altar-worſhip, and thoſe other ſurperſtitious Innovations which they formerly introduced, without warrant of Law.

They impoſed a new Oath upon divers of his Majeſties Subjects, both Eccleſiaſticall and Lay, for maintenance of their own Tyrannie, and laid a great Tax upon the Clergy for ſupply of his Majeſtie; and generally they ſhewed themſelves very affectionate to the Warre with *Scotland*, which was by ſome of them ſtiled *Bellum Epiſcopale*; and a prayer compoſed, and enjoyned to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots*, *Rebels*, to put the two Nations into blood, and make them irreconcileable. All thoſe pretended *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* were armed with the ſeverall Cenſures of *Suſpenſion*, *Excommunication*, *Deprivation*, by which they would have thruſt out all the

good Ministers, and most of the well affected people of the Kingdome, and left an easie passage to their own Design of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The Popish party enjoyned such Exemptions from the *Penall Lawes* as amounted to a Tolleration, besides many other encouragements, and Court favours: They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windibank*, a powerfull Agent for the speeding of all their desires, a *Popes Nuntio* residing here to act and govern them according to such influences as he received from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the most powerfull concurrence of the forraigne Princes of that religion: By his authority the Papists of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergie were convocated, after the manner of a Parliament, new Jurisdictions were erected of *Romish Archbishops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State, independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the Ignorant, or negligent professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were sound, in this posture waiting for an oportunitie by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by superstitious Prayers enjoyned by the *Nuntio* to bee weekly made for the prosperity of some great designe. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued out, or intended to be issued to some great Men of that profession for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which we doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them: His Majesties Treasure was consumed, his Revenew anticipated, His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great summes of Money; Multitudes were called to

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the *Councell Table*, who were tired with long attendances there, for refuſing illegall payments. The *Priſons* were filled with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs ſummoned into the *Star-Chamber*, and ſome impriſoned for not being quick enough in levying the Ship-money, the people languiſhed under griefe, and feare, no viſible hope being left, but in deſperation. The Nobility began to bee weary of their ſilence, and patience, and ſenſible of the duty and Truſt which belongs to them: and thereupon ſome of the moſt eminent of them did petition his Majeſty at ſuch a time when evil Councels were ſo ſtrong that they had reaſon to expect more hazard to themſelves, than redreſſe of thoſe publike evils for which they interceded. Whileſt the Kingdome was in this Agitation and diſtemper, the *Scots* reſtrained in their Trades, impoveriſhed by the loſſe of many of their Ships, bereaved of all poſſibility of ſatisfying His Majeſtie by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerfull Army into the Kingdome, and without any hoſtile Act or ſpoile in the Countrey as they paſſed, more than forcing a paſſage over the *Tyne* at *Newborn*, neere *New-Caſtle*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *New-Caſtle*, and had a faire opportunitie to preſſe on further upon the Kings Army: but duty and Reverence to his Majeſty, and brotherly love to the *Engliſh* Nation, made them ſtay there, whereby the King had leaſure to entertain better Councels, wherein God ſo bleſſed and directed him, that he ſummoned the great Councell of Peers to meet at *York*, upon the twentie fourth of September, and there declared a Parliament to begin the third of November then following.

The *Scots* the firſt day of the great Councell, preſen-

ted an humble Petition to His Majesty; whereupon the Treatie was appointed at *Ripon*. A present cessation of Armes agreed upon: and the full Conclusion of all differences referred to the wisedome and care of the Parliament. At our first meeting all Oppositions seemed to vanish, the mischiefes were so evident, which those evill Councellors produced, that no Man durst stand up to defend them; yet the work it selfe afforded difficultie enough. The multiplyed evils and corruption of sixteen yeers strengthened by custome and authority, and the concurrent Interest of many powerfull Deliquents were now to be brought to judgment and Reformation. The Kings Houshold was to bee provided for; they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply His ordinary and necessary expences, without the assistance of his people. Two Armies were to be paid, which amounted very neere to 80. thousand pounds a moneth; the people were to bee tenderly charged, having been formerly exhausted with many burthensome Projects. The difficulties seemed to bee insuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great measure wee have reconciled. Six Subsidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if it bee duly levied, may equall six Subsidies more; in all, Six hundred thousand pounds. Besides we have contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 220. thousand pounds; and yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the Kingdome above 200. thousand pounds a yeere. The Coat and Conduct money,

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and other military charges are taken away, which in many Countries amounted to little leſſe than the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all ſuppreſt, whereof ſome few did prejudice the Subject, above a Million yearly. The Soape an hundred thouſand pounds; the Wine three hundred thouſand pounds; the Leather muſt needs exceed both: and Salt could bee no leſſe than that; beſides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could bee exactly computed, would make up a great ſumme.

That which is more beneficiall than all this, is, that the roote of all theſe evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power, pretended to bee in His Majeſty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their eſtates without conſent in Parliament; which is now declared to bee againſt Law, by the judgement of both Houſes, and likewiſe by an Act of Parliament.

Another ſtep of great advantage is this: The living Grievances, the evill Counſellors and Actors of theſe miſchieſes, have beene ſo quelled by the juſtice done upon the Earle of Strafford, the flight of the Lord *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank*, the accuſation and impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of Judge *Berkley*, and the impeachment of divers other Biſhops and Judges, that it is like not only to bee an eaſe to the preſent times, but a preſervation to the future.

The diſcontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Triennial Parliament; and the abrupt diſſolution of this Parliament, by another Bill; by which it is provided, it ſhall not bee diſſolved or adjourned

(990) without the consent of both Houses. Which two Lawes well considered, may bee thought more advantagious than all the former; because they secure a full operation of the present remedie, and afford a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future. The Star-Chamber, the High-Commission, the Courts of the President and Councell in the North, were so many forges of misery, oppression, and violence; and are all taken away; whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties, and estates, than they could bee by any Law or Example for the regulation of those Courts, or terror of the Judges. The immoderate power of the Councell-Table, and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that wee may well hope that no such things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publike liberty, will appeare in future times, but only in Stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesties goodnesse, and the faithfull endeavours of this Parliament. The Canons, and the power of Canon making, are blasted by the Vote of both Houses. The exorbitant power of Bishops, and their Courts, are much abated by some Provisions in the Bill against the High-Commission Court. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies. The Ministers that have beene scandalous in their lives, have beene so terrified in just complaints and accusations, that wee may well hope they will bee more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their owne folly, or outwardly restrained by the feare of punishment. The Forrests are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds. The encroachments and oppressions of the Stannarie Courts; The Extor-

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tions of the Clerk of the Market, and the Compulsion of the Subject to receive Order of Knighthood against his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of those Fines, are by other beneficiall Lawes reformed and prevented.

Many excellent Lawes and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of Bishops, for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the Clergy, for easing the people of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers thorough the Kingdom: Other things of maine importance for the good of this Kingdome, are in proposition, though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of this Session, we hope may receive some progresse and perfection. The establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expences may be cut off, and the necessary disbursments for his Majesties Honour, the defence and government of the Kingdome, may bee more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Justice, and abridging both the delayes and charges of Law Suits: The setling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, encrease of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdome may be encreased, or at least kept from impairing, as through neglect

hereof:

hereof it hath done for many yeares last past: For improving the Herring fishing upon our owne Coasts, which will be of mighty use in the employment of the poore, and a plentifull Nursery of Mariners for enabling the Kingdome in any great Action. The oppositions, obstructions, and other Difficulties wherewith wee have been encountred, and which still lie in our way, with some strength and much obstinacy, are these: The malignant Party whom wee have formerly described to bee the Actors and Promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart againe: They have beene able to preferre some of their owne Factors and Agents to degrees of Honour, to places of Trust and Employment, even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to work in His Majesty ill impressions and opinions of our proceedings, as if wee had altogether done our owne work and not His; and had obtained from Him many things very prejudiciall to the Crowne, both in respect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this slander, Wee think good only to say thus much, That all that Wee have done is for His Majesty, His Greatnesse, Honour and Support: When Wee yeelded to give 25000.l. a moneth for the relieve of the Northerne Countreys, this was given to the King; for Hee was bound to protect His Subjects: they were His Majesties evill Counsellors, and their ill Instruments that were Actors in those Grievances which brought in the Scots; and if His Majesty please to force those who were the authors of this war to make satisfaction, as he might justly and easily doe, it seems very reasonable that the people might well bee excused from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent and free from being any causes of it. When

[illegible] the charge of the Army, which cost above [illegible] to the King? was it not his Majesties Army? were not all the Commanders under contract with his Majesty at higher rates and greater wages then ordinary? and have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of these hundred thousand pounds which wee gave the Scots? was it not toward repaire of those dammages and losses which they received from the Kings ships, and from his Ministers? These three particulars amount to above 1100 thousand pound, besides his Majesty hath received by impositions upon merchandise at least [illegible] pounds, so that his Majesty hath had out of the Subjects purse since the Parliament began, one million and halfe, and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majesty, that wee have done nothing for him. As to the second branch of this Bill, we acknowledge with much thankfulnesse that his Majesty hath passed [illegible] good Bils to the advantage of the Subjects then hath beene in many Ages; but withall wee cannot forget, that these venomous Counsels did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts: And for both Houses of Parliament we may with truth and modesty say thus much, That we have ever been carefull not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crowne either in just profit or usefull power. The Triennial Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by Law we ought to have required, there being two Statutes still in force for a Parliament to be once a yeere, and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power, that it shall never take effect, if hee by a timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seemes to be some restraint of the Royall power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crowne, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion onely, which was so [illegible] the Kings [illegible] security, and the publique peace, that [illegible] not have undertaken any of these great charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and rapin. The Starcham-

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ber was much more fruitfull in oppression then in profit, that great Fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long times. The Fines of the high Commission were in themselves unjust and seldom or never came into the Kings purse. These foure Bils are particularly and more specially instanced, in the rest there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crowne. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aspersions which they have attempted this way, have beene such as these, That wee have spent much time and done little, especially in those grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burden to the Kingdome by the abundance of Protections which hinder Justice and Trade, and by many Subsidies granted much more heavy then any they formerly endured; to which there is a ready answer: If the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of those grievances, which we have removed, to the powerfull supports of those delinquents which wee have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the Common-wealth for which wee have provided: or if it be considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not onely the present but future Ages are like to reape by the good Lawes and other proceedings in this Parliament; wee doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent judgements that our time hath beene much better imployed then in a farre greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have beene laid upon the Subiects, and the other inconveniences which they have borne, will seeme very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with Honour and Iustice, and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction. They have sought by many subtile practices, to cause iealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us, and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another.

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they have had such a party of Bishops and popish Lords in the House of Peeres, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bils passed in the Commons House, concerning the reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into Conspiracies and Combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: And by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesties Army, and to ingage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous designes, the keeping up of Bishops in their Votes and functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concurre with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction: And when one mischievous designe, and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament, and the City of *London*, had beene discovered and prevented, they presently undertooke another of the same dammable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scotish Army neutrall, whilst the English Army which they had laboured to corrupt and invenome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our Religion, and the dissolution of our government. Thus they have beene continually practizing to disturbe the Peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and have employed their emissaries and agents in them all, for the promoting of their devillish designes, which the vigilancie of those who were well affected hath still discovered and defeated, before they were ripe for execution in *England*, and *Scotland*: onely in *Ireland* which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their worke, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the

Proteſtants whom the conſcience of their duty to God, their King and Countrey would not have permitted to joyne with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their maine enterprize upon the City and Caſtell of *Dublin* had not beene detected and prevented upon the very eave before it ſhould have beene executed. Notwithſtanding, they have in other parts of that Kingdome broken out into open rebellion, ſurpriſed Townes and Caſtles, committed murders, rapes, and other villanies, and ſhaken off all bonds of obedience to his Majeſty, and the Lawes of the Realme; and in generall have kindled ſuch a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite bleſſing upon the wiſedome and endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: and certainly had not God in his great mercy unto this Land diſcovered and confounded their former deſignes, we had beene the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this time beene made the lamentable ſpectacle of miſery and confuſion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the onely meanes of our ſubſiſtance, and power of reformation is under him, in the Parliament; but what can we the Commons without the conjunction of the Houſe of Lords, and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Biſhops and Recuſant Lords are ſo numerous and prevalent, that they are able to croſſe and interrupt our beſt endeavours for reformation, and by that meanes give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings. They infuſe into the people, that we meane to aboliſh all Church government, and leave every man to his owne fancy for the ſervice and worſhip of God, abſolving him of that obedience which hee owes under God unto his Majeſty, whom we know to be intruſted with the eccleſiaſticall Law as well as with the temporall, to regulate all the members of the Church of *England* by ſuch rules of order and diſcipline as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament which is his great Counſell, in all affaires both in Church and State. Wee confeſſe our intention is and our endeavours have beene to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have aſſumed

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unto themselves so contrary both to the Word of God, and to the Laws of the Land, to which end we past the Bill for the removing them from their temporall power, and employments, that so the better they might with meekneſſe apply themſelves to the diſcharge of their Functions, which Bill themſelves oppoſed, and were the principall inſtruments of croſsing it.

And we do here declare, that it is far from our purpoſe or deſire to let looſe the golden reins of Diſcipline, and government in the Church, to leave private perſons or particular Congregations to take up what forme of Divine Service they pleaſe; for wee hold it requiſite that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realme a conformity to that Order which the Lawes enjoyne, according to the Word of God: and wee deſire to unburthen the conſciences of men of needleſſe and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, ſuppreſſe innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we deſire there may be a generall Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from forreigne parts profeſsing the ſame Religion with us, who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace and good government of the Church, and repreſent the reſults of their conſultations unto the Parliament to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of authority thereby to finde paſſage and obedience throughout the Kingdome. They have malitiouſly charged us, that we intend to deſtroy and diſcourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefeſt care and deſire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conſcionable & preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdome, which will be a great encouragement to Schollers, and a certain means whereby the want, meanneſſe, and ignorance to which a great part of the Clergie is now ſubject, will be prevented. And we intend likewiſe to reforme, and purge the Fountains of Learning the two Univerſities, that the ſtreams flowing from thence may be cleere and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have ſtrained

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to blast our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our meddling with the power of Episcopacy hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles. When Idolatry and Popish Ceremonies introduced in the Church by the command of the Bishops have not onely debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdome. Thus with *Eliah*, we are called by this malignant party the troublers of the State, and still while we endevour to reform their abuses, they make us the authours of those mischiefs we study to prevent; for the perfecting of the worke begun, and removing all future impediments, we conceive these courses will be very effectuall, seeing the Religion of the Papists hath such principles as doe certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such a condition, as that they may not be able to doe us any hurt, and for avoiding of such connivence and favour as hath heretofore bin shewed unto them, That his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their encrease, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due meanes by execution of the Laws to prevent all mischievous Designes, against the peace and safety of this Kingdome. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false conformity of Papists to the Church, by colour whereof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdome.

For the better preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome; that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented, and punished at the Sessions, and Assises: and that Judges and Justices be very carefull to give this in charge to the grand Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Justices to be sworne to the due execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws.

That

That his Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Counsellours, Ambassadours, and other Ministers in managing his businesse at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which wee cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of his owne estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellours, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lye not in proofe: there are others which though they may bee proved, yet are not legally criminall; to bee a knowne favourer of Papists, or to have beene very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in Parliament, or to speake contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or such as are Factors or Agents for any Forreigne Prince of another Religion, such are justly suspect to get Counsellors places or any other of trust concerning publique employment for money: For all these and divers others wee may have great reason to be earnest with his Majesty not to put his great affairs into such hands, though wee may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legall way of charge or impeachment: that all Counsellors of State may be sworne to observe those Laws which concerne the Subject in his liberty that they may likewise take an oath not to receive or give reward or pension from any forreigne Prince, but such as they shall within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of his Majesties Counsell: and although they should wickedly forsweare themselves, yet it may herein doe good to make them knowne to be false and perjured to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That his Majesty may have cause to be in love with good Counsell and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself,

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to see his own estate setled in a plentifull condition to support his honour, to see his people united in wayes of loyaltie to him, and endevours of the publique good, to see happinesse, wealth, peace and safety derived to his owne Kingdome, and procured to his Allies by the influence of his owne power and government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and assisting of one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both. To take away all differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their owne nature, concerining Religion; and to unite our selves against the common enemies which are the better enabled by our Divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endevoured. To labour by all offices of friendship to unite the forreigne Churches with us in the same cause, and to seek their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound thereunto both by charity to them, and by wisdome for our own good. For by this meanes our owne strength shall be encreased, and by a mutuall concurrence to the same common end, wee shall be enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant profession. If these things may be observed, wee doubt not but God will crowne this Parliament with such successe as shall be the beginning, and foundation of more honour and happinesse to his Majestie, then ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royall Predecessours.

The end.

*EC65.G798P.641ri

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1 June 1916